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WAR!

By Howard H. Caldwell

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PREFACE.

The greatest force to-day opposing war, in all parts of the world, is the international Socialist movement.

Wars between Germany and France, England and Germany, Norway and Sweden have been prevented by the determined action of this great working people's political organization.

Czar and Kaiser, lord and prelate, plutocrat and politician have denounced the Socialists as "fatherlandless rascals," "traitors," "unpatriotic disturbers" and other terms designed to show the Socialist's unfitness for citizenship and lack of love for native land.

The purpose of this pamphlet is to make clear the Socialist position upon jingoism, hero-worship, militarism, Boy Scout movements and other "respectable" methods of advocating the shedding of human blood for gain.

We Socialists realize that war is carried on solely for the purpose of enabling a ruling class, within a nation, to use the working class as soldiers to go forth and, by means of bloodshed, steal something that the ruling class want but do not care to shed their own precious blood and risk their lives in the act of stealing.

War is the act of a brigand enlarged to a national scale.

War is the parent to military despotism and creates as a ruler the "man on horse-back," and is opposed to democracy and stifles the voice of the working people in governmental affairs.

Workers fight all the wars, pay the cost of all the wars and it is their dead bodies that strew the battlefields.

The workers are always promised the fruits of victory but never receive them.

Real progress has always been made in spite of war, not by its help.

War is anti-social and belongs to an age which proved the darkest in the world's history, from which we are just now emerging and beginning to travel towards universal democracy.

The use of ballots to discover who are in the majority is taking the place of the war-club, the sword and the machine-gun.

In this little book, I shall show to you the historical data which has convinced the Socialists that war is bad, opposed to the interests of the working people and, in the future, absolutely unnecessary.

The revolution from capitalism to Socialism will not be accomplished with bloodshed, but in spite of it.

The advocate of a bloody revolution is near-sighted, utopian and lacking in historical information.

H. H. C.

San Francisco, Mar. 15, 1912.

War!

CHAPTER I.

Primeval Man.

Thousands of years ago, before man became a tool-using animal, he wandered through the forests a vegetarian, living upon the fruits, nuts and roots that he had discovered to be edible.

His only acts of war were defensive, to protect himself from snakes and wilder animals than himself.

He was an individualist, in fact, an absolute anarchist who obeyed no laws except those of nature and his own desires which were, of course, a natural product.

The individualism of this man did not lead to progress out of this state, but necessity, **a desire to escape from the struggle, both against the animals and the struggle for existence DID make for social progress.**

Man was the weakest and most defenceless of all the animals living in these ancient jungles. He lacked the fangs and claws of the tiger, the overwhelming strength of the elephant, the poisonous sting of the snake or the fleet foot of the deer to escape from his enemies.

Man's weakness, even in defence, forced him into an ever increasing social organization.

Because of his poor natural equipment for securing food, shelter and safety of life, he was forced to develop a genius for invention or perish.

His combination with his fellows, the subdivision of work among the different members of the tribe, the specialization of the individuals upon some concrete occupation, led to the invention of methods of making the work easier.

The age-long problem has been to secure a good living, safety for self and loved ones and leisure to enjoy the good things of life.

All progress that the race has made has been in spite of individualism, in spite of war and by the further development of social effort.

The history of the earlier peoples, of their economics, their morality and their inventions for lightening labor

is a most interesting study. It is recommended that the reader secure a copy of "Ancient Society" by Lewis H. Morgan. "The Origin of the Family" by Frederick Engels, "Woman and Socialism" by August Bebel, and "The Ancient Lowly" by Ward, to secure a further insight into the early life through which the entire human race has passed.

The earlier researches upon this question, conducted by Bachofen, Taylor, McLennon, Lubbock and later on by Cunow also shed considerable light upon this early period

The existence in the present day of tribes of people in isolated parts of the worlds, in a belated state of social development, has made possible a study by the present generation, of the earlier stages through which the human race has gone

The history of primeval man was an evolution from an individualistic savagery, closely upon a plane with the other wild animals, into a co-operative tribalism in which the grandest traits and the most superb moral sentiments which the human race has ever produced, made their appearance.

It is the story of the development of the race out of individualistic anarchy into co-operation, love, mutual help and peace.

CHAPTER II

Co-operative Tribal Life.

The discovery of fire was one of the great discoveries that changed the method of getting a living, the habitat and even the social relationships of the people.

It was the means of enabling our vegetarian ancestors to add fish to their available food supply.

It enabled them to leave the warmer zone and wander into the land where severe winter killed the vegetation, but where people could keep warm with fire and use animals and fish for food.

This brought on a new struggle for existence in which the necessity for clothing and shelter to protect them from the elements and the necessity for weapons to combat the animals, who had no desire to become food, led to the invention of many tools.

The invention of the bow and arrow, of pottery, of the use of the skins of animals, rude caves, tents and shacks, for a time at least, solved these pressing problems.

Necessity has always been the mother of invention and the desire for life and the perpetuation of the race are the strongest impulses that have moved man to develop his inventive genius down through the ages.

These impulses have led to the development of the impulse we call love.

"Love" may be divided into several different and distinct manifestations.

The first, which is the most selfish, sordid and antisocial is self-love or egotism.

This is the impulse that leads the individual to sacrifice everybody and everything for the purpose of preserving his or her individual life and happiness.

It is a trait that developes highest where "individualism" and "competition" are strongest.

We find its influence greatest during the time of the savage primeval man and during the dark ages when the communistic system was overthrown by the competitive one, and also during the present rule of plutocracy.

Probably Theodore Roosevelt is the greatest exponent of this selfish philosophy.

Sex-love and mother-love grow out of the impulse to preserve the race and are present in all animals including the **genus homo.**

The love of kindred, a distinct social growth, more highly developed in the human race than in the lower animals, is an outgrowth of the impulse of race preservation and a result of the discovery that self could be better protected by combining with one's kindred for protection against an antagonistic force from the outside.

Tribal patriotism is an extension of the love of kindred.

During the thousands of years of tribal life through which the human race passed, we find this trait developed to the point where most men and women are willing and even considered it a privilege to lay down their lives for the protection of the tribe.

The tribe was a real democracy in which every man and woman had equal voice and vote in making the tribal

laws, for the purpose of regulating the morals, customs and use of tribal property.

The property was entirely communistic and every man, woman and child had right of use of everything that belonged to the tribe.

The security of food, shelter and mutual protection in the tribe meant that the individuals had more safety that any previous system had been able to provide.

Under a communistic tribal system, patriotism was in line with the best interests of every individual of the tribe and really had a very much stronger hold upon the people than the love of mother and child and of that between man and woman.

Patriotism was then in line with social and individual progress.

CHAPTER III

The Origin of War.

The subdivision of work within the tribes took form along the sex line on account of the availability of either sex to special kinds of work.

Through the fact that woman as the mother of the race was unable to leave her new born babes to follow the hunt, she very naturally kept the camp fire burning, attended the household duties, and looked after the first primitive agriculture efforts of the tribe.

With the domestication of animals for the purpose of providing an always available food supply of meat, to the younger children fell the duty of attending the flocks.

Man, being the strongest member of the family, naturally performed the work of hunting and fishing for the tribe as he was better able to pursue the game and to overcome it when found.

With this subdivision of labor and the increased productivity resulting, the food supply was fairly safe.

The children born into a tribe that co-operated upon this plan, had a far better chance to grow into maturity than those born under the previous individualistic anarchy of the early savage.

As the tribes grew numerically stronger, the domestication of animals, the cultivation of edible plants, and

the raising of fruits was of course improved upon constantly.

The securing of more land becoming absolutely necessary, and as their lives and prosperity depended upon getting it, each tribe was willing to take land away from another tribe even if they had to kill them in the act of conquering it.

The hunters of the tribe, being equipped with weapons were of course the ones selected by any tribe to steal the lands possessed and occupied by another people.

We find war coming into the life of the people as a means of stealing something that belonged to others when the aggressors felt that they were more powerful than another people and were willing to kill them to possess themselves of their property.

There is no difference between the motives of a highwayman and those of an aggressor in a tribal or national war.

The party attacked follows the same tactics of the person held up by a highwayman, by either surrendering the property demanded or making a fight to protect their ownership of it.

We will now consider the effect that these wars had upon the different individuals of a tribe.

The resort to arms necessitated leadership because a fighting machine, to be effective, requires a brain to direct all its parts harmoniously.

This gave to the individual leader despotic power over his fellows.

Despotic power in the hands of any individual eventually leads that person to believe that his own individual desires are paramount over the interests of those under his command.

We now find a reversion to the egotistic philosophy of the early savage reappearing.

The democracy of the tribes which had obtained for thousands of years, gradually broke down before the growing militarism.

The prisoners taken in those early wars were in many cases killed and eaten by their hungry conquerors, but it was not long before these old chieftains discovered that the prisoners, while waiting for the banquet, could be forced to do work for their captors.

This led to the establishment of chattel slavery, with the victorious warrior as a master and his defeated opponent as a slave.

The private ownership of slaves and of the product of slaves was the beginning of the end of the ancient tribal communism.

The successful warriors and slaveholders presently commenced to covet the private ownership of women as well as slaves. We find them forcing a number of women to become their wives or concubines and insisting upon their abstinence from other men.

The man could have as many wives as he was able to possess himself of and it was made both legal and moral to do so. If any of the women were discovered to be unfaithful to their lord and master, they were killed in a most brutal manner and sent after death to a peculiarly hot and disagreeable hell invented by the heathen religionists of that day.

The medicine men, prophets and priests of that day were subject to the will of the military chieftain and, of course, made holy and moral any desires he might express.

This is the way in which the killing of the chief's enemies became a moral, patriotic, and religious duty, while the slightest injury to the chief was a great crime, to be punished by both the gods and the members of the chief's own tribe.

CHAPTER IV.

The Dark Ages.

Among some of the races resident about the Mediterranean Sea we find the old communism still enduring among the freemen of the tribe while the prisoners of war, held as slaves, were the property of the whole community.

Inventions developed among the Hindus, Chinese, Greeks and Egyptians. The Romans showed the greatest aptitude for successful warfare and Rome became the dictator of the then known world's destinies and at the same time, the greatest slave-pen in the world.

All the people were becoming enslaved. The slave feared his master, the child its father, the woman her

husband, the warrior his chief, the chief feared the Roman emperor and the emperor feared assassination. It was an age of fear, hate, force, murder, slavery, terrorism and suffering.

When might is the only proof of right the human race is in a bad way and the liberty and happiness of the people must give way before the whims of the despot.

The means employed to exploit the people were military force, ownership of the land and a monopoly of education.

We find, as in the past, that the priesthood and the military despots worked hand in hand for the exploitation of the workers.

During this period, we find the system of chattel slavery giving way before an improved method of robbing the worker of his product.

And then Rome fell. The dreary centuries known as the Dark Ages began. Learning and the art of letters became almost extinct. It was in this period that European Feudalism was born.

The fatal defect in the chattel slavery system was that the slave fully recognized that he was a slave. He was usually willing to fight for his freedom if he saw an opportunity for securing it. History records many revolts of these enslaved working people, which have always been wiped out in the blood of the workers.

The master class in their wars with foreign nations were always handicapped by the fear of revolt on the part of their slaves at home.

They could make the slaves do their work, but they could not send him out to fight their wars for them. The old patriotism of the tribal life had disappeared.

Even the priest in those days had difficulty in persuading the slave that his and the master's interests were identical.

Among the Germanic tribes another system of labor exploitation had been developing.

The war chiefs of each tribe had been taking possession of their tribe's communistically owned land and forcing each user of the land to pay rent to them.

Each tribesman with the old ties of blood kinship to his chief, still retained a large part of his old tribal patriotism.

Eureka! Here was a slave who would fight for his master, work for his master, love his master, obey his master and believe in his master's code of morals.

The combination was so perfect that the ruling class of the world very rapidly abandoned the slave system and adopted this new method of fleecing the workers.

This is the first example of the use of patriotism for selfish, private gain and the betrayal of the masses of the people.

CHAPTER V.

Increasing Democracy.

Within the feudal baronies and at the seats of government of king and emperor, a manufacturing and trading class was developing.

The desire for luxuries on the part of the rulers, the necessity for equipping armies, the building of castles and palaces, led to an increase of employment in the different handicrafts.

The workers were continually inventing easier methods of doing their work and sub-dividing their occupation for purpose of greater efficiency. In England, in particular, factories in which many men of one trade were employed, made it possible to produce a greater quantity of goods per man employed, than was possible under individual production.

At the end of the War of the Roses in England, most of the barons discharged a greater portion of their standing armies and as sheep-raising was more profitable than farming upon their land, we find them freeing many of their serfs and driving them from their estate.

These freed men, of necessity, took up their residence in the cities and sought employment as wage-workers in the different crafts employed in that town.

The owners of property within the city, especially property in shop and factory, were growing wealthy from the profit taken from the labor of these men. They hired them for a living wage and sold their product to

the rest of the world at a much higher price than they paid for the labor of producing it.

Within these cities, a new form of democracy was appearing.

The mechanics formed themselves into guilds, which differed greatly from our present-day unions. Master, journeyman and apprentice, in each trade, were all members of their trade guild.

Of course the masters controlled the business of the guild, but each apprentice knew that at the expiration of his term of service, he would be legally made a journeyman and given a complete outfit of tools

As a journeyman he would travel from town to town, learning all that he could about his trade during his travels. At any time he deemed himself capable, he could start in business for himself as he already possessed sufficient tools to do his work.

As a business man and property-holder, he participated in both the government of his guild and that of the city of which he was a citizen.

Each guild elected a chairman or executive official, who with the other executives from other crafts, made up the executive town council. This town council in turn elected a presiding officer who was known as a burgomaster or mayor. He, with the consent of the council and burghers, acted for them in the interim between meetings, but was, however, always subject to the will of the citizens of his city.

Thus we see within the feudal autocracies, democratic cities were being established.

These cities were often called upon to defend themselves against forays of the robber barons in their attempts to lay the city under tribute to them.

A militia system was invented, a volunteer army composed of the workmen, who, at the call of the mayor, would drop their tools and seize arms to defend the city from outside invasion.

The militia was used for defense, not aggression.

The cities always desired peace, not war.

Most of the wars of the middle ages were caused by one baron trying to steal the property of another or by trying to lay one of these commercial cities under tribute

The kings of this period, when going to war with another nation, would call upon the barons for men and upon the cities for supplies. The cities always preferred to furnish supplies out of their surplus in preference to taking part in the wars.

In time of great need, the kings were always willing to grant more liberty and more and more self-government in return for the absolutely necessary munitions of war, in the production of which, the cities had an almost absolute monopoly.

So we see within each nation, two different social systems side by side, that were very antagonistic to each other. One standing for autocracy and the rulers profiting by warfare, the other standing for a limited democracy with the ruling class profiting by peace.

While the feudalists were weakening themselves by warfare with each other, the cities were gaining wealth, power and a greater population. Up until this time, the cities had only entered upon warfare in defense. We now see a change coming.

Within the cities, democracy was being broken down by increasing wealth in the hands of the employing class and greater dependence on the part of the working class.

The employing class growing rich, now sought greater political power. With the wage workers to fight their battles for them, and their monopoly of the munitions of war, aided by the use of gunpowder, which lessened the comparative fighting strength of the armored knight, they proceeded to overthrow the feudal barons and seized the political government of the nation.

The so-called Cromwell revolution was the first successful revolution of the new-born capitalist class. It was their victory and not the victory of the wage-workers who had done the fighting.

The capitalist used the political power, once secured, to further their selfish interests, disregarding entirely the interests of the working people.

The English laws for the subjection of the worker, in the period following the Cromwell revolution, were very oppressive. They even passed laws making it a crime for the workers to ask for an increase of wages. It had been a worker's fight, but a capitalist's victory.

The lesson we get in studying these early wars, is that working men do the fighting, but that working men never gain the benefits from the warfare. Wars have generally made the ruling class stronger and the working class more subjected.

CHAPTER VI.

The American War of the Revolution.

A great deal of sentiment has been expended by our present ruling class upon the "Fathers of Our Country" and other "heroes" of 1776.

In our present-day literature and the histories studied by our school children, the American revolutionary war is exploited as the first revolution that was justified.

It was the revolution by which the present-day ruling class secured its power over the people. Any further revolution through which the workers of this country might emancipate themselves from the rule of the present-day plutocracy, is denounced as wicked, traitorous, unpatriotic, un-American, etc.

A revolution through which an exploiting class secures power is considered right by them; a revolution through which an exploiting class loses power, of course, they consider wrong.

A study into the causes of the revolutionary war makes very interesting reading.

The American colonies were established for the purpose of securing agricultural land, to furnish raw material for the British factories, as a market for British manufactured goods and for the exploitation of the fur trade by British merchants.

The British Parliament which made the laws for the colonies was, since the time of Cromwell, under the control of the British capitalist class.

Parliament, of course, made the rules under which the business of the colonies must be carried on. It was quite natural that they should arrange the duties and other regulations relating to the business world in such a way as to divert practically all business of the American colonies into the hands of the British manufacturers and merchants.

The British business men had no desire to encourage competition of American business men. Hence the enactment and enforcement of the stamp act, the law in regard to the importation of tea, which made it unprofitable even to smuggle tea in competition with the British East Indian Company.

As the American colonies were a part of the capitalist system, very naturally they produced a class of capitalists of their own who bitterly resented the governmental favoritism shown to the British capitalist class.

At first they tried to get around these oppressive laws by evasion, by smuggling and by other "illegal methods," but when the British East India Company received a rebate on the duty which made it impossible for the smugglers to realize a profit, the oppressed smugglers donned the clothing of Indians and in a mob attacked the first British ship bringing tea into Boston Harbor. This famous "tea party" threw all the tea from the British ship into the Harbor, destroying it.

They were, of course, at this time, opposed to law and order.

The American business men held an indignation meeting in Philadelphia in 1776 and passed stirring resolutions and a declaration of independence that makes very interesting reading.

This declaration of independence, when read by some Filipinos a few years ago at a public meeting, resulted in their being arrested and sent to jail by the American army in the Philippine Islands.

The business interests then selected George Washington to raise an army to fight for their independence from the British business men and from their government.

The methods used to raise part of Washington's army is not published in our popular American histories. It has remained for James Oneal to tell the true story of that time. In his "Workers in American History," page 161, he quotes from Fisher's "True History of the American Revolution," and says:

"The wide extent and character of the violence employed by Samuel Adams and other rebels (to make patriots) is instructive. Men were ridden and tossed on fence rails; were gagged and bound for days at a time; pelted with stones; fastened in rooms where there was a

fire with the chimney stopped on top; advertised as public enemies, so that they would be cut off from all dealing with their neighbors. They had bullets shot into their bedrooms; money or valuable plate extorted to save them from violence. * * * Their houses and ships were burnt; they were compelled to pay the guards who watched them in their houses; and when carted about for the mob to stare at and abuse they were compelled to pay something at every town."

At the end of the war the working class found conditions worse than before 1776. Some families had lost by death one or more of their loved ones, many of the survivors were wounded or mutilated, some were helpless cripples and had to be supported by surviving members of the family, while all were deeply in debt. Many of their farms had been looted during the war by one or the other of the contending forces and the exactions of the tax-gatherer, usurer and other creditors of the poor was considerably greater than before the war of the revolution.

The debtors' prisons were crowded with the soldiers of the revolution, the laws of that time allowing a creditor to have a debtor thrown into jail and kept there at the debtor's expense until the debt was paid. For a full description of the conditions of the working class at the close of the revolution see Oneal's "Workers in American History".

The courts worked overtime and yet could only hear a fraction of the cases brought before them for the collection of debts owed by the workers to the capitalists who had been victorious in the revolution.

Capitalism developed rapidly in America. The self-employing hand-tool user was rapidly being displaced by power-driven machinery, owned by the capitalist and with wage-labor used upon it. Before the revolution, only two per cent of the population worked for capitalists for wages. Every year since that time has shown an increase in the number of dependent wage-workers and a loss in number to the ranks of the independent self-employed. The latter class has almost entirely disappeared now.

The war for independence was solely for the benefit of the American capitalist class. They did not go to the war. They sent the working people—and **they are still sending them.**

CHAPTER VII.

The War of 1812.

Following the American War of the Revolution, came the French Revolution and then the struggle between this newly emancipated capitalist class of France and the feudal system of the rest of Europe.

The wars of Napoleon stopped all industrial progress in Europe for some years and the development of the factory system was confined to England and the United States.

England, of course, was greatly hampered in her progress by getting mixed up with the European wars.

Many working people emigrated to America seeking employment and to avoid military service.

The American capitalist could then hire all the wage-labor he desired. The competition for employment held the wages of the working people down to a bare existence wage. By means of machinery, they were producing several times sufficient for their maintenance. The capitalist class appropriated the difference between the product and wage as their profit.

The surplus taken from the workers above that which the capitalist used for his own maintenance, was invested by him in hiring the workers who had been displaced by machine production from their handicrafts, to build more machinery and larger factories.

Under this unjust wage system, the titles to the factories remained with the capitalists, **although they represented the unpaid wages of the working people.**

The constantly increasing size of the factories necessitated a constantly increasing market for the goods produced in them.

The factories of America were mostly located north of Baltimore on the Atlantic Coast. There was, at that time, no means of transporting freight to the interior of the country. Some rough wagon roads had been built, but the expense of freighting by wagon was prohibitive. The only available market, outside of the home town, was the plantation country of the south which could be reached by ships down the coast and up the navigable rivers.

The British manufacturing class, with their markets in Europe limited by upset conditions there, resulting

from the Napoleonic Wars, were also anxious to sell their surplus to the southern plantation owners.

The military power of England had been defeated upon the American mainland during the revolutionary war, but the war-vessels of Great Britain were still supreme upon the Atlantic Ocean.

It was quite natural for the British capitalist class, with their control of the policies of the British government, to use their naval strength to further their ends in the competitive struggle with the American capitalists.

When the American merchant vessels left New York, Boston or Philadelphia for southern ports, loaded with the products of the northern factories, they were waylaid, in many cases, by British war vessels, who would send a boarding party to seize any deserters from the British navy who might be employed upon the American ship.

The boarding officer would decide that every able-bodied man there had deserted from the English navy, even though he had never seen an English vessel before. This would force the American merchant ship to put back into port for lack of a crew sufficient to handle the vessel in a storm.

These tactics, of course, greatly hampered the American business man in his competition with the British merchant and manufacturer.

In 1812, when Great Britain was sufficiently entangled in the European troubles, the American capitalist class, with their control of the American government, went to war with England for the purpose of freeing the seas to American commerce.

This situation seems to be an occasion for the jingo to throw up his hat and declare that, at last, here is a just war.

It was, from the standpoint of the American capitalist, but let us look into the condition of the American sailor man who fought this war.

The sailor, at this period, was practically a slave who had no rights that the ship owner was bound to respect, under the American laws of this time.

The captain could overwork him, give him food not fit for swine, could flog and imprison him and even shoot him under pretense that he was a mutineer. Should the

sailor quit his job when the captain did not desire him to do so, it was called desertion. The United States authorities would arrest him and return him to the tender mercies of the captain. Many of the men were "shanghaied," in other words, kidnaped, and taken to work on board the American vessels against their will.

The condition of the sailors in the British navy, bad as it was, was preferable to employment upon an American merchant vessel.

During the two years of the war many American sailors were killed and wounded. The capitalists always fled to a place of safety, taking their ill-gotten gains with them.

After a treaty of peace was signed, in which the American business interests were conceded all their demands, the American sailors were still suffering all the injustices of the past.

It was called a conspiracy and made a felony should the American sailor combine with his fellows into a labor union.

This war, like all preceding and all following it, had not advanced the interests of the workers, but had caused untold suffering and misery among them.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Advent of Public Schools.

In 1825, very few of the working people living in America could read or write. Only the clergy and the wealthy class were educated.

The workers were unable to secure an education for their children from the fact that there were no public schools in that day and the expense of a private tutor was beyond the reach of a workingman's small income.

The working people were held in superstitious dread of the clergy, taught to bow before the education of the lawyer and to take off their hats before the man of money who was their economic master and, through his superior education, better equipped for the mental struggle for supremacy.

A labor movement was gaining ground rapidly throughout the larger cities of the east. In New York,

Boston and Philadelphia successful strikes on the part of labor unions had demonstrated the value of working class solidarity.

The labor unionists of this time carried on a successful agitation for the repeal of the so-called "conspiracy laws" which made it a crime for the workers to organize for the purpose of increasing wages. The working people were beginning to learn the value of their vote. They had a definite political program, which included a demand for public schools, repeal of the conspiracy laws, laws for the protection of the seaman, sanitary laws and the abolition of child labor, which was even then becoming a menace to the child life of the American family.

This is the only time in America's history when voting for "good men" produced results.

All candidates for political office were anxious to secure the block of votes controlled by the labor unions, and most of their demands were legislated into the statute books of the land.

Probably the most important of these demands, accomplished through political action, was the establishment of public schools.

As late as 1835, a workingman advocating the extension of the public school system, in an address from the court house steps of Philadelphia, was mobbed and killed by the business men of that city.

The method of trading their votes with first this and then that political party resulted in the disruption of the workingmen's political organization, and we find them for many years struggling along, using the strike, boycott and union label as their only weapons.

We find very little progress made by the working people for many years after their political movement was disbanded.

The children growing into manhood after 1850, even of the poorest people, possessed, at least, a common-school education.

From this time on democracy in government has been making rapid strides and it has been necessary for the politicians to make their appeals to the working people.

The mass of the people as yet had made very little study of economics and usually voted for men they believed to be heroes, with a predilection for heroes with brass buttons.

CHAPTER IX.

The Mexican War.

The causes of the Mexican war grew out of the slavery question, and to make them clear it will be necessary to explain the early history of chattel slavery in America.

The writer was born in Connecticut and in his childhood was taught the worship of ancestors. He was told that his ancestors were the early settlers of New England, that they came to America to avoid religious persecution and had always been ready to die that liberty might live.

When quite young, he took great pride in the fact that he had selected such a fine assortment of ancestors and such a great country for a birthplace.

It was only in later years, after he had grown to maturity, that it began to dawn upon him that his parents had not asked him very much in regard to the selection he would prefer.

Later, it was a pleasure to think that he could not be damned for the deeds of his ancestors.

In looking closely into the history of the early settlers of New England, we find them quite different from the people pictured to us in the books furnished the school children. We do not find them standing for religious freedom, but find the Plymouth colonists driving from their colony Roger Williams and others who disagreed with them slightly in their religious dogmas.

We do not find them standing for liberty, as they immediately started to enslave the Indians. English workmen who had committed some petty offense against the laws made by the capitalist class of England were condemned to penal servitude and sold in bondage to our good old Yankee ancestors, who would purchase them and then work them to death in the "land of the free."

The ships of our Yankee ancestors would visit the West Indian Islands, procure a cargo of molasses, bring it to the New England colonies, and, in the distilleries

there, it would be converted into the famous New England rum.

The ship owners would then load up a cargo of rum and proceed to the coast of Africa, get in touch with the slave dealers there, who would proceed into the interior of the country and capture a whole native village, probably while the inhabitants slept.

Chained together, these poor victims, men, women and children, would be brought down to the seashore, where my good old Yankee ancestor, who loved liberty, religious freedom, and who burnt witches, manufactured rum and trafficked in human flesh and blood, was waiting to purchase them. He would pay about a gallon of rum for each human being delivered to him.

As slaves were cheap in Africa and sold for a high price in America, he packed as many into his ship as possible. Frequently one-third of the human cargo died of suffocation and lack of sanitation on the way to the land of the free.

The plantation owners of the south purchased their slaves from the Yankee slave traders and both considered slavery just, moral and in conformity with Bible teachings.

The distillers, ship owners and other business men of New England considered the slave trade an important aid to the business prosperity of their section. The ministerial profession, both north and south, unwilling to antagonize the wealthy members of their churches, who were most liberal in their donations to support the church, could always find scriptural authority for the righteousness of the business.

Up until the time of the American revolution, the business men of the colonies all believed slavery a good thing and public opinion was made to conform with their economic interests.

As the manufacturing interests of the north increased and the farmers of New England migrated westward, thereby securing better climate and better soil, the stony farms of New England were nearly deserted. As the employment of slaves was only profitable in agriculture, slavery gradually disappeared in the New England States.

The profit to be made from the slave trade, still for a time, kept the business interests in New England fa-

vorable to slavery, but presently we see a change in their sentiments. It did not come because their souls had been touched with pity for their enslaved fellow-men or because they believed that the God of Moses and Abraham was opposed to it, but because their only god, the god of Mammon, spoke unto them, saying: "Behold the southern slave-holder fighteth with you in Congress against an increase of tariff which would protect you from the competition of English manufacturers and they fight you because they own chattel slaves and desire cheap clothing for them. A cheap cost of living for their slaves means cheap labor for them. If their slaves were emancipated and they employed wage labor, they would not be particularly interested in the price their wage-laborers paid for these commodities. Therefore it is to thy interest, if thou desirest a protective tariff, to emancipate their slaves, if possible, or at least to prevent slavery from spreading into any other states, for by the increase in the number of free states thou shalt secure supremacy in the nation and thy will will be done in this and in all questions that may come before the Congress of the United States."

We now see a struggle between northern and southern congressmen upon the admission of each new state into the Union over the question of whether it shall be "free soil" or a "slave state." At long range, this also looks to be a moral question, but it is not. Every new state admitted meant two senators and several congressmen who would line up with one or the other of these two contending forces in Congress.

At this time the western boundaries of the United States extended in a zig-zag line from the western edge of Louisiana to the line between Oregon and California. All of our present great southwest belonged to Mexico.

It was noticed by the politicians that all of the northern states admitted into the Union chose the wage system of exploitation instead of the system of chattel-slavery, as it was more efficient in a colder climate. The cold winters of the north proved a heavier whip to drive, through necessity, the laborers to work for an existence wage than the cat-of-nine-tails of the southern slave-owners.

As early as 1820 the slave-holders of the south realized that they must secure new territory below the frost

belt, if they desired to add new states that would stand on their side of the political fence.

In the early forties, a filibustering expedition, financed by southern capitalists, started an insurrection in Mexico, in that part which is now Texas, and with both men and money furnished by the southerners, carried through a successful revolution and established the Republic of Texas.

After a short existence as an independent republic, Texas was admitted into the Union as a state.

Not satisfied with this much land, when a southern president was occupying the White House, a war was fomented against Mexico, and with the standing army of the United States, recruited from among the working people, aided by volunteers from the same class, the war was carried through to a successful finish and the Mexican government was obliged to part with that great territory which is now New Mexico, Arizona, California, Nevada, Utah and a portion of Colorado.

The southern capitalists now felt that they had sufficient territory to bring in a southern state any time a northern one was admitted, and a compromise was made in Congress, permitting each state to decide for itself whether it should be slave or free.

The working people had fought this war and it was their dead that was buried after the numerous battles from the United States line to the City of Mexico.

The workers had gained nothing from this war, but had, as usual, to endure all the suffering and stand all the cost. They had been fed upon empty phrases, meaningless platitudes, jingoistic bombast and hard tack.

CHAPTER X.

Economic Causes of the Civil War.

In the struggle of the advocates of free soil versus slave territory, we find the business interests of the north encouraging emigration to the northwest.

Explorers were sent out over the Rocky Mountains. John C. Fremont, one of these pathfinders to the northwest, was a popular hero with the northern capitalists.

The manufacturers, who were located in the northern part of the United States, were not satisfied with any of the existing political parties. In this period the political parties and the economic interests behind each one was as follows:

The dominant party was the Democratic. It was controlled by the slave-holding aristocracy of the south. It was an advocate of tariff for revenue only and was opposed to the sentiment of tariff protection to the manufacturers. The southern slave-holders owned plantations and the principal products of these plantations were cotton, tobacco and sugar. They owned no factories, but purchased large quantities of manufactured goods for themselves and their slaves.

In this period the factories of Manchester, England, and, in fact, the English factories in general, could produce at a lower cost than any of their competitors. The southerner sold his cotton to the British factory owner and desired to buy back the manufactured goods without any added tariff expense.

The Yankee mill-owner could not possibly support the program of this party.

The next largest party was the Whig. The merchant and the northern farmer were the chief support of this party and, of course, it voiced their economic interests. The merchant knows what price he can demand for his wares and always believes that the manufacturer is charging him too high a price. He is always engaged in a struggle with the manufacturer, who, of course, receives very little sympathy from a party dominated by the merchant class.

The Free Soil party was a small affair. A party which has but one idea and that idea representing the interests of only a minority of the people has no possible chance of success.

While the Free Soil party had been a product of the manufacturing class, it had been found inadequate.

The Know-Nothing party was a holdover aftermath of the Nativist's Riots of 1844. To a limited extent it was sympathetic to the cry raised by the manufacturers, "American industries must be protected." It was largely, at this time, a sectarian party, opposed to Catholicism, so, consequently, too narrow in its scope to

he of value to the manufacturer in the struggle for supremacy in the American political arena.

None of the existing political movements were wide enough in scope to gain sufficient popularity to enable the manufacturers secure supremacy in the country.

The large bankers of the country had their places of business in New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Boston and some in Baltimore. They, of course, were money-lenders and desired laws made and enforced that would make easy the collection of debts and that would make interest high.

The reader can readily see that the southern slave-holder, who was always a borrower of money, never a money-lender, would not allow any political party under his control to take the side of the bankers against their debtors.

The party of the commercial class, composed of store-keepers and petty manufacturers, did not desire to pass laws for the squeezing of the debtors, as they were always in debt to the bankers.

The bankers could not very well support the Whig party.

There was nothing attractive in the Free Soil party, Know-Nothing party or other minor parties for the northern bankers, so they were willing to accept an invitation from the manufacturers for the formation of a new political party. A convention was held at Pittsburg, Pa., in 1856, and the bankers and manufacturers of the north launched a new political party into American politics. It was called the Republican party.

The convention nominated the man who had been exploring the northwest and making possible the admission of northern free-soil states. The candidate for president, John C. Fremont, received and disbursed a larger campaign fund than any candidate of a political party, up to this time, had used in a national campaign.

In 1860, the Republican party, taking advantage of a clash of interests of the western farmer with the southern plantation owner, nominated Abraham Lincoln, a lawyer, then of Springfield, Ill., who had attained quite a reputation as a champion of the interests of the farming class of what is now our middle west. With the ample funds at their command, they brought about a factional fight

within the dominant Democratic party and, in a four-cornered fight, succeeded in electing practically their whole ticket.

The success of the Republican party caused consternation in the ranks of the southern slave-holders. They could see, in the future, a tariff wall erected around them that would shut out the cheap English manufactured goods and allow the Yankee manufacturer to raise his prices to the point where it would take all the profit they had made from their chattel-slaves.

In the southern states, of course, the slaves had no votes and the poor white men no political influence, as they had neither money nor education. About one in each five white men were slave-holders and their interests were antagonistic to both the interests of the white wage-worker and the black chattel-slave.

The school teachers, newspaper editors, clergymen, politicians and all those who formed public opinion were dependant upon the slave-holders for support and so, consequently, they obeyed their every mandate.

The slave-owning class concluded that if they could not control the federal government, they would, at least, control the government of the slave states.

Secession from the Union was advocated and accomplished by the slave-owning plutocracy. One state after another in the south declared its independence of the Federal government and elected representatives to the congress of the southern confederacy. The Confederate States of America were organized.

CHAPTER XI.

The Civil War in America.

The farmers and wage workers of the northern half of the states were rather pleased than otherwise at this separation of the slave from the free states. They had become tired of the pursuit of slaves onto free soil and believed that now, as the south was a separate country, the escaped slaves could be protected. The general feeling among the northern working-people was that a difficult problem had been solved by the secession of the south.

The bankers and manufacturers felt quite differently. The bankers had loaned large sums of money to southern plantation owners whose investment in slaves netted hardly sufficient profit to pay interest on the investment. Many of the southern slave-holders were so deeply in debt to the northern bankers, that they, the bankers, felt that secession would mean a repudiation of those debts.

The manufacturers of the north who were paying their wage-workers only an existence wage and who had been constantly investing all of the surplus product, over what they were able themselves to consume, in enlarging the factories, did not desire to lose the southern market for their surplus wares.

They knew that their own employees could not buy, with the wages they received, but a very small portion of the product of the factories. The capitalists could not consume the balance. They must expand their market or inevitable failure to their entire system would result. The southern states must not be permitted to secede, as, if they became an independent republic, they would buy of the English manufacturers whose price was below the cost of production of the northern factories.

It was to the interest of the northern banker and manufacturer to hold the southern states within the Union, at any cost, short of endangering their own precious lives and property.

The northern government controlling the American army and navy ordered the soldiers stationed in southern barracks and forts, to remain at their posts, in spite of the insistent demands of each southern state that these now-foreign troops be removed from territory of a friendly sovereign power.

The southern states insisted that when each sovereign state joined the federation of states that make up the American Union, that each maintained its sovereignty as a self-governing commonwealth, that the power to regulate interstate commerce, make treaties with foreign nations and to provide for defense against foreign invaders were about the only powers granted to the Federal government.

They contended that, should any state become dissatisfied with the Union, it was at perfect liberty to withdraw from the combination and maintain its separate

existence among the nations of the world. This idea was pretty generally conceded at this time, to be in line with the law and the facts.

The southern states proceeded to form a new confederation of the slave states and in South Carolina, the somewhat excitable southerners proceeded to eject, by force, the U. S. troops stationed there at Fort Sumter.

This, of course, was the long-waited-for opportunity that the bankers and manufacturers had planned as a means of exciting the "patriotism" of the wage-worker and farmer of the north.

"The flag has been fired upon," shrieked the northern newspapers and every means of forming public opinion, controlled by the northern wealthy class, was used to excite the working people of the north to take up arms.

The southern capitalists had no intention of fighting their own battles either, so proceeded to enthuse the poor white men of their neighborhood into the desire to shed northern blood.

Well-fed orators among the lawyers and politicians would speak to the multitudes who had been summoned by the beating of drums and the waving of state flags, about as follows: "We free sovereign citizens of the sunny south are again called upon to fight for our sacred rights and liberties as we so bravely did in 1776. The rights of each sovereign state are being trampled under the foot of an autocratic federal government dominated by the Yankee manufacturers."

This kind of stuff appealed to the poor white man of the south who sold his labor for an existence wage in competition with the chattel-slave labor used by the same master class. The "free" working man of the south was worse off than his black chattel-slave brother. The chattel-slave was fed by his master whether or not there was work to be done, but the poor white man was given only an existence wage while employed and the rest of the time could starve for all the master cared.

The poor white man of the south rallied around their state flags and prepared to fight the northern army for the protection of the slave-holder's interests. Less than one in five of the white men owned any slaves, and to protect themselves from the dangers of war, these slave owners passed a law in the Confederate Congress, that no

one owning twenty slaves or more should be forced to go to war.

The northern capitalists looked after their interests carefully by passing a law in the northern Congress that any man who had the money could hire a substitute to go for him in case he was drafted.

The capitalist class now a days, though they constantly foment war, are too intelligent to fight in the wars they may start.

The farmers and wage-workers both north and south, were marshalled into armies, taught the art of wholesale murder, shown how to blow up people with bombs, to mow down men with grape and canister, and how to plunge a bayonet into the flesh of a fellow-man whom they had never met before, who had never injured them, but whom, like themselves, had been betrayed into this wholesale slaughter of men by tricky, smooth, oily-tongued exploiters who remained at home and sat on the reviewing stand as the workers marched off to do their killing.

The capitalists secured army contracts, sold shoddy clothing, rotten food and even condemned muskets to their own government. They speculated in bond issues, depreciated the currency and eventually made vast sums of money in purchasing the depreciated green backs from the soldiers and afterwards paying themselves at par out of the government treasury.

The notorious Central Pacific railroad bill was put through Congress and signed by the President during the terrible Seven Day's battle, when the very life of the nation seemed at stake.

This bill gave to a bunch of grafters alternate sections in a strip of land forty miles wide along the right of way, across the continent to the Pacific. It subsidized the road with enough money to build it, gave to the schemers privilege to bond the railroads also, and power to sell stock.

These very eminent gentlemen then proceeded to form a subsidiary company in which only selected insiders could get stock, they contracted to this company the work of building the road, paying themselves about eleven times the actual cost of doing the work.

This was only one of the enormous steals foisted upon the people of America at this time when the workers were fighting for what they supposed to be their country.

CHAPTER XII.

The Emancipation of the Slaves.

It is popularly supposed at this time that the American slaves were emancipated from chattel-slavery through an aroused moral sentiment. Such, however, was not the case. The slaves were emancipated because the northern capitalists desired to cut off the southern armies' food supply.

While all the poor white men of the south were at the front fighting for the interests of the southern slaveholder, the chattel-slave was tilling the soil, feeding the southern army and providing for the women and children of the rebels. In many cases they were used to dig entrenchments and build forts for the southern army.

The labor of the slaves more than doubled the efficiency of the southern army and of course it was to the interest of their northern opponents to weaken their adversaries as much as possible.

The question of emancipating the slaves was discussed by the cabinet, the financiers of the country, and other advisors of the President. Many of the well-to-do people voiced their sentiments as follows: "The negro slave is the private property of his master. All the courts of the land, including the United States Supreme Court, in the Dred Scott Decision of 1857, have decided that he is chattel property. The constitution of the United States does not permit the confiscation of private property by the government, without remuneration to the owner. To emancipate the slaves would be confiscation. It would be stealing the southerners' property. The government cannot turn highwayman."

These and similiar sentiments were freely expressed at this time, and it was decided that the President should issue a proclamation warning the southerners to lay down their arms and the southern states to reaffiliate with the United States, in which case, all would be forgiven and they would retain their slaves. On the other hand, in case they refused to submit to the authority of the United

States, they were warned that their slaves would be emancipated.

This proclamation was carefully considered by the southern leaders and the summary of their conclusions was that nothing could be gained by coming back into the Union. They said that the northern manufacturers and bankers who dominated the Republican Party which controlled the government, would insist upon the high protective tariff and other laws that would confiscate all the profits taken from the chattel-slaves and turn it over to the northern business men. The southerner knew that with the cheap English goods shut out of the country by a high tariff wall, the northern manufacturers could charge the slave-holders much higher prices for the commodities they purchased. The planter knew that he could not get a higher price for his cotton in the world market, because of the competition of cotton raised in Egypt and India by working people who enjoyed scarcely as high a standard of living as his own slaves.

After due consideration the slave-holders decided to continue the struggle.

The Emancipation Proclamation was then issued. The writer had the pleasure of reading the original document which is preserved in the archives of the State War and Navy Department in Washington. It was evident that Mr. Lincoln fully realized, when he penned the document, that it would merely change the form of servitude from chattel to wage-slavery, as it could plainly be seen by the wording that there was no desire to emancipate the negro from service to the rich white man.

In the document, he bids the slave, now that he is given his freedom, to work for a "reasonable wage". Mr. Lincoln seemed quite concerned about the danger of the ex-slave asking too much pay for his labor. This is the mental attitude of business men in general.

Mr. Lincoln seems to hold about the same viewpoint as the business men of to-day. He viewed with alarm the concentration of wealth into the hands of a few members of the capitalist class and could see the danger to the small capitalist as the larger capitalist eliminated the waste of this competitive system and made it impossible for the small business men to stay in the field.

It may seem wicked for me to show the material reasons that caused the emancipation of the slaves, as the

American ruling class with their control of the school books, have painted themselves as heroes and all their motives as growing out of holy fervor for serving the public good.

The ruling class in all nations have always followed these tactics and one of the first things necessary to understand history is to forget your hero-worship and dare to look into the causes of things.

Mr. Lincoln was about as good and as bad as the rest of us, he was molded by his environment the same as other men. He could not have been nominated by any great political party, if he had not agreed with all the essential points in their program.

The emancipation of the slaves was the stroke that weakened the southern side sufficiently to eventually decide the war in favor of the north. Any negro who had escaped through the southern lines had achieved his freedom and was one worker less to feed the southern army.

When the southern women and children were left without support, through the slaves running away, desertions increased very rapidly in the southern army as the soldier preferred to raise food for his family rather than fight and see them starve.

This weakening of the southern forces eventually led to their defeat.

During the war, the northern soldiers were paid in a depreciated paper currency which was worth less than half of its face value. The southern soldiers were paid in Confederate bills that eventually depreciated to zero.

The end of the war found both northern and southern working-man-soldier heavily in debt, ragged and very often wounded or suffering from some disease caused by the rotten food furnished him, and, in many cases, his family broken up.

The workers fought the war, suffered and many died in the war, but after the war was over, what had the workers gained?

When the armies were discharged, north and south, there were many more men looking for jobs than could find them. The wealthy class, in whose interest the war had been fought, took advantage of this competition for employment to hold the wages at the lowest existence point and continued to keep the prices of commodities as

high as they had been during the war, when labor was scarce.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Invasion of China.

Following the Civil War, capitalistic ownership of the industries and the system of wage-labor extended southward and westward. Railroads crossed the country in all directions. The capitalist class continually invested the profits taken from the working-class in enlarging the factories and extending the railroad system in to the new country being developed by the pioneers.

In the early nineties, the factory system in America, had grown larger than its market. The capitalists could not invest the surplus wealth produced in enlarging their plants. The capitalists could not eat the surplus, nor could the workers, with their meager wages, purchase it. So it clogged the wheels of industries and a serious industrial depression set in.

Where the cry had always been "protection to American industries", the demand was now for foreign markets.

The entire foreign policy of the nation was changed to suit the interest of banker and manufacturer. The banker desired to invest his capital in undeveloped countries where it would bring larger returns than here. The manufacturer desired foreign customers to buy the surplus that he could not consume or his workers purchase. The European capitalists were in exactly the same position as the American. As they had also exploited their home markets and as the capitalist system requires continual expansion or inevitable failure results, they were all desirous of breaking into the undeveloped country of China.

China was a country large in area, with a dense population, backward in development, having three distinct social systems in existence at the same time.

Feudalism, chattel-slavery and tribal communism existed side by side at the same time. Our ancestors in Europe had passed through these social reforms before evolving into capitalism.

In China, the ruling class who were the beneficiaries of the slave and feudal systems there, had no desire to be

swallowed up by the capitalist system, knowing that they were not in a position to compete with the capitalists of the new world. That is the reason they would not permit the capitalists of other countries to establish factories in their territory.

The manufacturers and bankers of America and Europe all coveted China, but none would consent that another nation should grab political power there.

At last they came to an agreement to form a partnership in a war to conquer China and to force her to accept the capitalist system and to protect foreign industries within her boundaries.

The ruling class in each country arranged with their governments to furnish their quota of troops to form an army of invasion. They were placed under the command of the German general who happened to be the ranking officer among the allied troops and the famous march upon Pekin began.

Workingmen, of course, made up the entire army of invasion and Chinese workingmen made up the army of defense. The Chinese workingmen were told that they must drive out the foreigner who would break down their sacred institutions and defile the tombs of their ancestors. The Chinese were encouraged in attacking the advance agents of the capitalist system made up of missionaries and business representatives who had been sent to China to break ground for the business interests of Europe and America.

The European and American workingmen were told that their sacred religion was being attacked by the heathen Chinee and that they must carry the cross of Jesus into the heathen country, backed up by machine guns and high-power explosives, that the souls of the Chinese must be saved by murdering their bodies.

The wealthy people of both sides remained out of the conflict, but used their governmental authority to send the exploited workers into the slaughter.

The writer has interviewed many different soldiers who took part in the invasion of China and their tales of looting and wanton slaughter of the innocents makes a painful chapter in the history of the expansion of our industrial system. From eye witnesses, it was learned that the soldiers shot many of the innocent bystanders who

had gathered to see the army pass in their march and the shooting of Chinese women just to see them "hop".

The orders were to kill as many people as possible, so that China would long remember this punitive expedition.

For ferocity and wanton slaughter of non-combatants, the so-called civilized soldiers proved a startling innovation to the peace-loving, pastoral people of China.

The soldiers of the allied powers captured the city of Pekin and forced upon the government of China a treaty which gave to the capitalists of the New World all the privileges of an open market they required.

For a few brief years, the buying of machinery by Japan and China supplied sufficient employment in those countries to conceal the growth of the competition of the Orient, but by 1907 Japan had developed to the point where they made their own machinery and practically everything else they required and had begun to export all kinds of manufactured goods into the world market.

Before dealing with this phase of the question, it will be interesting to look into the economic causes of the American War with Spain.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Spanish-American War.

All of the European countries, as the power to produce in their factories increased beyond their available market, had been forced to colonize and exploit undeveloped countries. All of them had used first, the missionary and then the soldier to get a foothold on new lands that were rich in minerals, timber or agricultural resources.

They had each built up large armies and navies for the purpose of holding in bondage these conquered peoples, and for the purpose of forcing the payment by them to the bankers and manufacturers of money borrowed and for goods purchased. Navies are primarily used as international sheriffs for the collection of debts owed to the ruling class of the country maintaining the navy.

While America was living under the policy of "American markets for American manufacturers", and the business interests of this country could sell all their

wares in America at much higher prices than they could secure abroad, they had little need for a large navy and standing army.

Standing armies and navies required a great deal of money for the maintenance. Such money is raised by taxation. A large amount of the taxation in this country is directly upon property and of course, the capitalists owned the property. With the control of the government in the hands of the moneyed interests, they have always shifted as large an amount as possible of the taxation upon the farmer and other small property holders. Still a portion, at least, must be paid by the capitalists.

With expansion to foreign markets, the bankers and manufacturers found themselves badly in need of an "international sheriff" in the shape of a large navy and standing army.

It was difficult to get the smaller capitalists interests of the country, who had no foreign trade and who were already overburdened with taxation, to see the advantage of any investment by the government in a great navy.

The small capitalist class, who, on the average, possesses very little knowledge of economics or of world politics, have a great weakness for jingoism. In fact, they are about our only jingos and keep the "patriotic" business working overtime. Knowing the weakness of the petty capitalist along these lines, the "high financier" proceeded to work upon it for their own selfish interests.

In 1897, the Associated Press despatches began to tell tales of great injustice towards the Cuban people by the Spanish government.

Up until this time, although the Cuban War for independence had extended over a dozen years, the Cuban patriots had always been referred to as outlaws and brigands and the Spanish rule spoken of as beneficent. General Weyler is now spoken of as a tyrant and tales of his reconcentrado camps and other cruelties practiced upon the Cubans, filled the American newspapers.

A sentiment for intervention in favor of the Cubans against Spain was carefully churned up among the American people.

The motive behind all this was the selfish interest of the manufacturer and banker who desired a war against a much weaker nation that possessed colonies rich in resources, that were situated favorably for becoming valu-

able possessions for the exploitation of the American ruling class. To make their desire stronger, they saw that Spain had no adequate means of defending these colonies, even against the internal insurrection that had been going on for some years.

It looked like an inexpensive opportunity to steal something in which only the jingo's blood would be shed and which the American people would patriotically pay for.

After sentiment for intervention had been worked up to the fever heat, the battleship Maine, with a great deal of publicity, is sent to Havana upon a friendly visit and, as we are told, to cement the friendship of Spain and America more firmly. Upon the Maine's arrival at Havana, all the sailors except those under punishment, were given an unusual length of time on shore leave. Then, while all of the officers of the ship, (except the smallest possible number of minor officers left aboard) were at a banquet given by the Spanish officers at Havana, an explosion of the Maine took place, in which many common sailors were blown into eternity.

The American people are then informed that the Spaniards have blown up the Maine. The newspapers all over the country show pictures upon their front page, of the Maine being blown up in Havana harbor by a mine underneath the ship, attached to a wire running into Moro castle, with a particularly villainous looking Spaniard touching the button to fire the mine.

Every thing was now ready to declare war upon Spain and the ruling class gave the word to do so.

Farmers and wage-workers dropped their employment, seized the arms handed them by the government and started out for the purpose of killing Spanish workingmen, who had about as much to do with the blowing up of the Maine as Adam had to do with manufacture of automobiles.

Of course, the capitalists remained at home. They are too intelligent to go to war and are as shrewd as the monkey who used the cat's paw to draw chestnuts out of the fire.

The manufacturers of fire-arms now enjoyed prosperity, the beef trust now unloaded upon the army any meats or canned goods that they had been unable to sell elsewhere, and the patriotic capitalists of all kinds were on the

alert for any graft that could be made to come their way.

The American soldiers sickened and died as a result of the supplies furnished them by the patriotic businessmen of America. Many more soldiers were killed by the food they ate than by Spanish bullets. It would have been a far more deadly process had the American army shipped their rations to the Spanish soldiers and remained at home themselves.

The seat of authority of the Spanish government in the New World was in Havana, Cuba, and though it was the nearest point to the United States and could have been easily conquered by the American Army, it was not the purpose of the American capitalist to end the war so soon.

The Pacific Squadron of the navy was first sent to capture the Philippine Islands. An army was sent to Porto Rico, then preparations were leisurely made to take Cuba. The plan was, not to free Cuba, but to capture colonies for American exploitation. A lot of fake heroes were made out of favorites of the administration while stories of inefficiency and colossal graft in the American army filled the European newspapers, though suppressed in America.

The only real service done the American working people, by this Spanish War, was that it destroyed the jingoism of most of those who took part in it.

At the close of the war, the American manufacturing and banking interests had at their service and at the expense of the American citizens over one hundred thousand soldiers and a navy able to overawe at least the weaker nations of the world and fully able to attend to the collection of debts as well as other duties desired of it by the American ruling class.

American exports now increased rapidly. The business interests enjoyed great prosperity. The manufacturer could sell all the goods his workers could produce, at a good profit. While the working people struggled along under an ever increasing cost of living and a comparatively stationary wage.

Since this period, the cost of living has increased sixty per cent and the income of the worker has increased, on the average, less than fifteen per cent. The capitalist is now getting forty-five per cent more profit out of the

worker than before. That is why his political henchmen bid us to "stand pat" and "let well enough alone".

By 1907, the factories of America produced one-third of the manufactured goods of the world and together with other exporting nations of the world, was able to produce all that the world market would take.

Further extension of the factory system in America and Europe now became impossible for lack of a market to sell the goods.

Millions of wage-workers, who had been engaged in Europe and America in building new machinery and new factories, now found themselves out of employment.

Their lack of wages diminished their purchasing power at the store and the store-keepers cut down their purchases of the manufacturers and in consequence, more and more factory hands were laid off.

A world-wide business depression was breaking down the capitalist system.

The new factories of China and Japan, employing the cheapest labor in the world, were crowding out of the markets the products of American and European factories.

In nearly all of the backward countries, the capitalist class now have successfully carried through or are now engaged in revolutions in which the old regime is overthrown and a modern capitalistic government established.

The historical purpose of the capitalist system is now accomplished and capitalism, already senile, is tottering on to its inevitable end.

Millions of unemployed wage-workers clogging the labor market, strikes in which millions are involved, a revolutionary sentiment pervading the masses of all nations, are but signs of the approaching demise of the capitalist order of society.

CHAPTER XV

The Competitive versus the Co-operative System.

In summing up the facts related in this book, we find that war did not always exist between members of the human race and that its entrance into the life of the race

only benefited a small portion of the people at a terrible cost to the remainder of the race.

We see that the fruits of victory added to the wealth of a class who already possessed more than they needed for their happiness, and causes untold suffering and no possible advantage to the great masses of the people.

War was the necessary adjunct and creator of the competitive system, is inseparably attached to it and will disappear when the co-operative system replaces the present one.

A peace society that believes in the competitive system and expects to retain the competitive system and abolish war, to me, appears woefully lacking in a knowledge of economics and history.

Under the competitive system, the successful person is the one who defeats his competitors. This means war upon his fellow man. It is to be expected that the hope of success will carry, at least, some men to go to any length to achieve this success.

Our political system in America is one of party government. Political parties representing groups of people, organized along the line of class interests, nominate candidates at each election.

In each of these political parties, with the exception of the Socialist party, the money for the campaign is furnished by a comparatively small number of those who vote for the policies advocated and the candidates nominated at each election.

It usually costs a great deal more to elect a candidate to a state or national office than his salary amounts to during the term.

No man can afford to furnish his own campaign funds and remain honest during his term of office, so it becomes impossible for him either to represent himself or the "common people".

Business men who have taken millions of dollars from the American people in profit and have their wealth invested in further schemes of exploitation, must have the law upon their side as they are not able to exist without the help of judge, police, militia and federal troops.

A few wealthy men are not strong enough physically to take all the wealth produced by labor and pile in their storehouses all they are unable to eat, laying off the worker

when the store-house is full and preventing the worker from getting access to the food he has created, while his family starves and he walks the street seeking employment.

Exploitation of one man by another man can only be carried on when backed up by force.

Armies are maintained to make robbery legal. No aggressive warfare was ever justified. The only just system of arming a nation is to furnish every citizen with a gun. Under that condition of affairs, the tyranny of an armed few over an unarmed many would probably cease. With the growth of Socialistic ownership, warfare will soon become unnecessary and will disappear.

The knowledge that war is anti-social and antagonistic to the interest of the majority of the people, is spreading fast among the peoples of the earth. The ruling class of to-day is very bitter against the Socialists for opposing warfare and militarism. They are finding it more and more difficult every year to find volunteers for their armies.

In England and America where the system of enlistment is a voluntary one, many plans have been tried to encourage enlistment. In America, advertising with posters showing alluring pictures of army life, advertisements in the country districts telling of opportunities of seeing the world by joining army and navy, and even stereopticon lectures under Y. M. C. A. auspices, have been tried and found more or less futile in keeping the army up to the number permitted by law.

In England, during the Boer War, great difficulty was experienced in securing enough soldiers to defeat the little Boer Republic.

One of the generals of the British army, taking part in the Boer War, put in considerable study trying to find a solution for this problem.

Upon returning to England, General Baden-Powell laid before the ruling class of his country a plan to organize the little boys into a Boy Scout movement.

It was intended to take advantage of the child's natural desire for out-door sports, his active imagination and receptive mind to teach a love of and respect for militarism, so that when grown to manhood, he would prove an easy victim of the army recruiting agent.

The Boy Scout movement was started in all localities throughout England.

The Czar of Russia fell in love with the plan and proceeded to establish it throughout his domain. Then the American capitalists imported it and we found press and pulpit advocating the formation of companies of Boy Scouts in all the cities and towns of America.

In this country, we do not see the prize-fighters, saloonkeepers and other alleged bad men trying to force into the minds of the little children a love for murder if committed in uniform, but instead, we find the pretended followers of the lowly Nazarene, who was the Prince of Peace, in the act of wholesale betrayal of the American childhood.

To the Y. M. C. A. and the ministerial profession in general belongs the dishonor of teaching militarism to our little tender children who should be taught brotherhood, mutual aid and the love of their comrades.

The Socialist Party is everywhere opposing warfare because it represents the working class. You will see by the foregoing facts that war is caused by antagonistic economic interests.

A Socialist nation will make the interests of all men identical and with our interests in harmony, will remove the cause of war.

Warfare and preparations for war will always continue as long as the competitive system lasts. War always divides society into a ruling class and an enslaved class. Socialism will establish industrial and political democracy and will abolish classes based on economic inequalities.

War and the competitive system has always been destructive of life and property and brings no good to the masses of the people.

The co-operative system will bring peace and will eliminate even the wastes of the capitalist system.

In war, the workers kill other workers, destroy the product of their own labor, and when the battle has been lost or won, they have always lost.

War enthrones the war-chieftain and destroys any democracy in which the workers might share in the government.

The world's progress has been made during times of peace and in spite of the interruptions of war.

Each progressive step towards democracy has been made through education and by the workers breaking away from the superstitions taught him by the ruling class and their agents.

The ruling class has always formed the code of morals, so that every thing they desired done was called "good" and everything they did not desire the enslaved worker to do was called "bad".

To-day the working people, through the heroic efforts of their comrades in their peaceful political struggle, eighty years ago in this country, to secure public education, now have access to all the knowledge of the world.

They are breaking the chains of superstition, they are forming themselves into a gigantic political organization, their women folks are demanding the ballot, so to the student of history, we are to-day in the dawn of a new democracy.

The end of war is near and peace on earth will be a reality, not a sentimental platitude in the mouth of an apologist for the capitalist system of society.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Socialist Party.

It will be of interest to the reader to find out exactly where the Socialist Party differs from other political parties as all of them claim now-a-days to represent the working-class.

A perusal of the different platforms will show, of course, that the Socialist Party is the only one demanding the abolition of the private ownership of industry—capitalism—and the establishment of public or collective ownership—Socialism.

Within the Socialist Party a system of party control is maintained that insures democracy within the movement. We have used the initiative, referendum and recall since its inception.

The campaign funds of the party are raised by a dues-paying system in which every party member pays the same dues as others belonging to his local organization. The amount of these dues is set by the local organizations, so that it is a system of self-taxation to raise funds for the

purpose of carrying on propaganda according to the wishes of the membership itself.

The dues in different localities vary from twenty-five to fifty cents per month.

At this time in America, the dues-paying membership of the Socialist Party exceeds 125,000 members and is growing rapidly. The members, not only direct the work of the party by a majority vote, but do most of the work themselves with volunteer help and receive no pay for their services.

The work is entirely educational and none of the campaign fund is expended in purchasing votes and drinks for voters who will sell their birthright for a mess of pottage.

They arrange lectures, distribute literature, publish newspapers and books for the education of the masses and are tireless exponents of the working-class philosophy.

In the early days of the movement, we were persecuted, discharged from employment, blacklisted and, if possible, jailed, in the attempt to suppress this world-wide movement for the emancipation of the working class from wage-slavery.

The path is easier now. We have carried on our work of education until we are respected as well as feared by the capitalist class. We are now capturing political control of towns and cities and in every nation, the vote is creeping up fast towards a majority.

The thinkers in all nations regard Socialism as ultimately inevitable. The only question among our opponents is this: "Can we hold back the establishment of Socialism by fighting it relentlessly or by conceding a little from time to time, smilingly?"

Sometimes they try to side track the working-class into some political movement controlled by the capitalists, by baiting their hook with some of the minor demands of the Socialists. In other places, they fight us bitterly. In studying the different localities in which these two methods have been used, we find that both seem to result in the making of Socialists more rapidly.

Another method of attack upon the Socialist movement is by placing "agents provocateur" within our party who advocate "direct action", or any other old

thing that will divert the working class from the use of the ballot. They also advocate violence and maintain that what we must have is a revolution of violence.

The ruling class are confident that with their control of government, which means the control of police, detectives, militia, sheriff's deputies and federal troops, they can eliminate any group of armed revolutionists before such a propaganda could make much headway.

They know that a propaganda of violence will gain but little sympathy among the masses of the people in a country where we possess the ballot.

If the people have courage enough to vote together, they will gain peaceable control of the governmental powers. If they have not sense enough to vote for their class interests, they could scarcely be trusted with guns. They might shoot themselves with them.

The revolution that will free the American working people will be a peaceful one and at the ballot-box.

Join the Socialist Party. Be able to show your membership card in the world wide movement for the emancipation of the human race from wage-slavery, poverty, misery, prostitution, hypocrisy, superstition, class antagonism and war.

Do your part to establish the co-operative commonwealth, which will bring back brotherhood and fraternity to mankind and safety to the children and the aged of the human race.

End

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